1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

735 Native informants frequently bewail their poverty, and often lay much of the blame on Chilean townspeople. The following account, based on the commercial relations of Cautinche reduction with Cholchol, may be regarded as typical.

438 Cautinche is linked to Cholchol, which is ten kilometers dis-
[419] tant in a straight line, by an ungraded dirt road. There are a number of small merchants in Cholchol, storekeepers, millers, liquor dealers, and others, who trade primarily with Indians. They buy farm produce and sell whatever merchandise the natives care to purchase. On occasions when a Mapuche's crops have failed he may get caught in an economic cycle which he does not understand and which usually reduces him to hopeless poverty. The reader should not forget that these statements were obtained from native residents of Cautinche, who tend to minimize their own faults and to emphasize the failings of the Chilean tradesmen. Nevertheless, there is probably much truth in their story.

●426 When a farmer finds himself without sufficient seed for planting a new crop, he may borrow what he requires at 100 per cent interest, due at the next harvest. The Araucanians complain that although the merchants often lend poor seed that matures badly or produces numerous weeds, they always insist on being repaid with selected, high-grade seed.

Another source of trouble is the custom locally known as *cosechas en verde*, which signifies buying a green harvest. This refers to the practice of business men who send agents into the countryside each summer to buy up stands of growing crops or animals yet unborn. When an Indian enters into such a transaction he generally spends in a short time whatever cash he receives. By winter he finds that he has neither money nor food left for his family, and when spring comes he is forced to borrow seed in order to start a new crop.

273 There is also a standing complaint that in Cholchol practically every dealer keeps liquor on hand. When Araucanians

[271] to one, a yield that is hardly worth the effort of harvesting. Cooper (1946, pp. 699-706) provided a good summary of subsistence activities. See also Latcham, 1909, pp. 343-44; and Moesbach, 1930, pp. 29-30 and 138-68.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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The method of training the child in toilet habits was not ascertained. 863
A non-Araucanian herbalist had observed that in many families very small children gave notice of their needs to the mother; in other families, children two or three years old were seen soiled. A teacher complained that an 8-year-old girl and a 9-year-old boy were obviously bed wetters; their clothes had a most offensive odor. Children do not undress at night.

CRADLE, TRANSPORTING BABY, HAMMOCK

Araucanians call their cradleboard kupilwe. When speaking Spanish, they call it caballo (horse), not cuna (cradle), the Spanish word used by Chileans. The cradleboard is made before the first child is born and remains in the family until no more children are expected, after which it is given to anyone who asks for it. A cradleboard is never lent or borrowed. In Alepún area the father makes the cradle; or, if he does not know how, he asks another man to do so. An old woman in the area was positive that formerly one of the grandmothers made it; but all other informants were certain that no woman ever did so. In Pangipulli area the mother makes it *if* the father does not do so; in Boroa area the mother often makes it. 854 [426]

Two types of cradles were seen. (Pls. 2; 3, *1*.) Both were of wood. One has a band over the head end which is attached to both sides of the backrest and extends beyond the foot end; the other has a pole or board attached to each side of the backrest and extending beyond both head and foot ends. A cradle rests on the foot-end protrusions when it stands erect—informants called these protrusions "feet." Ends of feet are pointed so they can be securely planted in the ground. The band (about 2 inches in width) is a shaved-down strip of pliable wood, such as avellano, maqui, or tineo. It is approximately 2 inches in width and one-half inch in thickness. When attached to the backrest it is bent somewhat above the sides of the backrest. Backrests are slats, of any kind of wood. "I used boards of caldito because I had them handy."

The baby is prevented from sliding off the cradle by a pole or slat of wood fastened across the foot end of the cradle. A canopy over the baby's face is made by bowing a twig of quila and inserting it on the sides directly over the baby's face. Over it a piece of chamall is hung to keep flies and insects away while the baby is asleep. During the baby's waking hours the twig hangs to the side of the cradle, if attached, or is stored on a shelf or in the mother's workbasket—"some place where it can be found when needed."

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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231 beasts nor alpacas were kept. At the beginning of the sixteenth century horned cattle, sheep, pigs, and chickens were taken over; and after the middle of that century the horse was adopted, taken both by theft and as spoils of war from the Spanish. Some of my old informants recalled the days of the llama; those who had lived in Argentina spoke of the guanaco.

At present domesticated animals are horses, oxen, cattle, sheep, chickens, turkeys, dogs, and cats. Every member of the family owns at least one horse; some have several; and all Araucanians are accomplished horsemen. Horses are bred primarily for transporting humans, although sometimes one is used as a pack animal. Occasionally, horses are sold to Chilean cattle dealers from San José de Mariquina, Valdivia, and Villarrica. Horse meat was never a staple food, but it was eaten by some on the occasion of a marriage, and, until recent times, meat of a deceased man's favorite horse was eaten following the man's burial.

Next to his land, oxen are an Araucanian's most prized possessions. They are usually owned by men; only occasionally by a woman or a child. A man not infrequently has two pairs; rarely, three. Oxen are used for transportation—hitched to a cart or to an object that needs to be hauled—and for plowing. When ready money is needed, they are mortgaged or are sold at a good price.

[126]

233 Cattle are raised for family consumption and are also sold to Chilean cattle buyers. Milk as such is not a food, but in very recent [262 (77)] times women have used it to make cheese, having learned the process from non-Araucanians in the area. Although all members of a family may own cattle, most of the herd usually belongs to the father. "Most certainly women own horses and cows and sheep, before and after [122] they are married," said a 45-year-old woman. "All through life women own their own property!"

Each family owns a flock of sheep, and, in addition, individual sheep are often owned by each member of the family, unless the family has no grazing land, and has not sufficient money to lease any. "That family is so poor that it does not even have sheep," is an expression that tells of real poverty.

Mutton and lamb are staple foods. Sheep and raw wool, and also products woven from wool—blankets and ponchos, chuapinos and lanas—are sold to Chileans. Chileans use blankets as bed coverings; lanas and chuapinos as rugs or furniture throws; ponchos are worn by men as a protection against rain and winds, especially when riding horseback. To prevent sara, a disease that causes them to lose their

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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in the Pacific (pl. 42, *1*); the dugout (wampo; Spanish, canoa) (pl. 40, *3*) and the raft, the balsa (taqi), were used in Cañaripe area to transport persons and loads across rivers.

In all areas rivers were forded on foot, on horseback, and in oxcarts. Bridges were found only where roads had been built by the Chilean Government or by private lumbering firms. Creeks were forded on foot or were crossed on footbridges consisting of one or several logs at convenient places.

It is a man's duty, in general, to do the family selling, buying, and trading; consequently men travel greater distances than do women and children. A few men informants of all areas had traveled as far as Santiago (a day and night trip on a local train); no women had. All men informants had been to the largest trading center near their area: for Alepúe area, Valdivia (49,000 population); for Panguipulli and Cañaripe areas, Villarrica (4,600); for Boroa area, Nueva Imperial (6,600). Many women in Boroa had been to Nueva Imperial, their nearest large city; only a few women in Alepúe, Panguipulli, and Cañaripe areas had been to their respective large centers. Of 21 children in an Alepúe school, all but one girl had been to San José de Mariquina, the nearest trading center, a distance of 3 to 4 hours on horseback. Half of the boys had been to Lanco, a greater distance; one-third, to Lancoche, still farther away; but none of the girls had been to either of these places.

TRADE, EXCHANGE, AND CURRENCY

Bartering, as in former days, is still the prevailing form of trade among the Araucanians themselves. "When we were married, we were very poor," said a 60-year-old Cañaripe woman. "We cleared a piece of land and planted wheat in it. At harvest time I exchanged for cows and sheep with Mapuche around here, who were in need of wheat, all the wheat that we could spare. Soon we had a number of animals, and that is how we got our start." A man in the same area exchanged a horse for two and a half sacks of wheat—a sack approximated a hundred kilograms. A woman was seen exchanging sugar for both wheat and flour; another paid for yerba maté with a hen. Children in all areas were seen bartering, among themselves, such things as marbles for tops, pencils for paper, tortillas for other things.

Borrowing, too, was done in all areas. Such needed things as axes, hoes, screwdrivers, plows, oxcarts, hats, needles, kettles, were being borrowed. Unfailingly things borrowed were returned. Families helped each other out with sugar and flour; equal amounts were returned when a new supply was obtained.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

back to a landing on the Pacific from which a boat was to sail for Valdivia and was in need of fare money. His grandmother had woven this lurra, and a pack of others that he was taking to Valdivia to sell. He thought this one of the prettiest, for his grandmother had used only natural dyes in it; the others she had dyed with commercial dyes. If I did not buy it, he said, he would leave it with the captain of the boat to guarantee his fare until his return trip when he would have money. He had no chospino to sell.

Chospino, because of their bright colors and interesting designs, are favored by purchasers. Weavers, however, find them costly articles to produce—bright-colored dyes must be bought in Chilean stores, and, also, much wool is required to make one. An Alepúe woman commented, while figuring out the price she should ask for a chospino, "Last year [1945] we were paid 25 pesos for a kilo of wool in San José de Mariquina. It takes the price of many kilos of wool to buy the dyes that Chileans want us to use when we weave for them. My husband bought me these dyes recently [about a heaping tablespoonful each of red, green, and black]. He paid 15 pesos for each [50 cents in U. S. money]. I shall use these dyes when dyeing wool for chospino, and shall probably make little profit when I sell them. I dyed the wool for the chospino that I made yesterday in bark and roots that I collected in the woods. These, of course, cost us nothing, but those Chileans want brighter colors than bark and roots produce." A Pangipulli woman said with determination, "I will make no more chospino. It takes much wool to make one; consequently, the cost rises, and no one wants to buy them. A poncho is quickly made, and persons are willing to pay a good price for one. So I make ponchos."

In the spring, when food supplies stored from the previous harvest are sometimes low, or have given out entirely, men, both old and young, go to the wooded areas, fell trees, and haul them for sale to lumber camps. In every area a few young women augment the family's cash income by working as domestics in Chilean homes. Men occasionally hire out at harvest time. An occasional one obtains cash for hides of trapped skunks which he sells to Chileans.

Money is occasionally borrowed from Chilean firms with mortgages for the loan being placed on oxen, land, or cattle—preferably on oxen. In Alepúe area both land and oxen were mortgaged for loans made either from firms known as Caja de Ahorros (savings banks) located at San José de Mariquina and Valdivia, or from private persons. Periodically men come from the banks to brand with their own brand the horns of oxen or cattle on which they hold a mortgage. Oxen-

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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sionally money is borrowed from a fellow Araucanian with the agree- 426
ment, usually, that wheat may be substituted in repayment.

A 39-year-old Alepin man had been told that his father's grand- 467
father and the grandfather's brother, when they were young men, had spent 5 years in Argentina earning money by catching ñandú (rhea) and plucking their large feathers, which were in demand for European markets and brought a good price. They caught the ñandú with a bolas-dora. "It was thrown something like a lasso is thrown today. The bird, by a twist of its head, tried to get away, but in doing so wound the rope around its neck. They also earned money by selling wool they sheared off guanacos, a wild sheeplike animal, and by herding sheep for Argentine owners. For herding sheep, they were paid with half of the newborn lambs. Some Mapuche married in Argentina, and never returned to Chile. Others returned with the money they had earned and bought up land. From then on they were the rich men among the Mapuche."

Alepin children to whom I had given pesos for stories they wrote, for specimens of plants they collected, for running errands, and for being helpful in other ways, were asked by their teacher the following week how they had spent their money. One of the boys had given it to his mother to buy sugar; another had cleared a debt he owed the teacher for a notebook and a pencil; two had bought for themselves a bottle of pop at a fiesta; another had given his to an older brother who bought himself cigarettes with it. One of the girls had bought a handkerchief; another, candy; still another added hers to the money that she was saving to buy a dress. "A child is expected to earn money for its own clothing," noted their teacher. "Girls spin wool which the father then sells and uses the money to buy their clothes."

FOOD, SHELTER, CLOTHING

COOKERY, IMPLEMENTS, FOOD, MEALS

Foods are eaten uncooked, boiled, roasted, and baked. Cooking 252
today, as formerly, is done over a fire maintained in a shallow hollow 354
in the earth floor of the ruka, or in the ground, if cooking is done out-
doors, as it usually is when the weather permits. On two sides of the fireplace, usually at right angles, level with the floor or ground, stones are laid. A few of these are large flat ones that serve as a table for the cook, and also as a place on which to keep food warm. The stones about the fireplace serve as benches when the fire is only smoldering—"it feels comfortable to sit near one on a cold, damp day." The location of the fireplace in the ruka is between the door

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

quire if there are individuals who want to sell their standing crops. This is the practice of buying *cosechas en yerba* and is especially pernicious. Mapuche who need cash, usually for the purchase of flour or other food, and who have no other means of establishing credit, offer their green crops for sale. They do this in the spring of the year, when there is a general shortage – when even the reserves in town are low – but they are usually talked into selling their crops at a low rate. If the harvest is poor, however, the Mapuche takes no additional loss.

The same procedure operates for the sale of unborn animals. Agents visit the Mapuche homesteads, look over the stock, and pay a price for a certain number of calves or sheep that will shortly be born. The Mapuche agrees to make good if the animals die, although it is often difficult for the agent to force the issue. There is room for sharp practice on both sides, although the Mapuche generally strikes a poorer bargain than the agent. Mapuche make these arrangements with *fundo* owners as well as with businessmen from town.

Credit at very reasonable rates of interest is sometimes made available to Mapuche through the government's *Caja de Crédito*. A Mapuche desirous of obtaining credit through this agency – for seeds – contacts his local political representative. There are several Mapuche *Diputados* in the national government who rely heavily on the good will of the reservation Indians for election to office. If the *Diputado* feels that the petitioning Mapuche is a good risk, a matter he is able to ascertain through personal contacts with the chief or another important individual of the man's reservation, he will vouch for the Indian, who will then be able to get government credit. By way of official proof requisite to obtaining both the support of the *Diputado* and credit from the *Caja*, the Mapuche must secure a copy of the original *título de merced* map signed by the archivist of reservation records. If the loan is not repaid, the source of credit is closed, unless there are important extenuating circumstances. Furthermore, pressure will be brought to bear on a recalcitrant Indian, or even on one who is unable to repay because of a crop failure or other exigency, by the *Diputado* through the mediation of the chief.

Thus, in periods of general short supply (on the reservations and in the towns), Mapuche tend to enter into debt for purchases of food and seed. The system has long been that of selling rights to standing crops or to unborn animals. In this sort of negotiation the Mapuche takes an immediate loss owing to market-cornering practices in a

12: Faron E-4.5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

Mapuche white hostilities, have been replaced by more intensive field farming which came about with the introduction of draft oxen and wooden and steel plows, only after the imposition of the reservation system and the stabilization or immobilization of residential groups within rigidly defined reservation limits. Field agriculture is man's work, for the most part, and involves the cultivation of wheat, barley, oats, potatoes, and a few other crops. Garden vegetables continue to be raised by women in plots adjacent to households.

Mapuche agriculture, as it has taken form during the reservation period, may be characterized as a three-field system of planting and fallow combined with haphazard crop rotation. Much of the beneficial effect of rotation is lost, however, because the water supply is uncontrolled (and to that extent unpredictable), fertilizer is seldom or improperly used, and the succession of crops is inconsistent with the needs of the soil. Furthermore, Mapuche tend to sow very poor quality seed, and this in improper proportion to the area of land employed. Add to these considerations the fact that fallow fields are consistently overgrazed by sheep and leached by heavy rains and topsoil blown away by summer winds, and the basic technological difficulties of Mapuche farming emerge. Although all Mapuche strive to raise crops for cash sale, profits are often nil and most food is consumed by the grower. The extension of credit to Mapuche (at persistently high rates of interest) by Chilean businessmen permits them to survive from one harvest to the next. But this is a system by which the Mapuche continue to lose their scarce crop reserves. It is a system presently forced upon them during the several leanest months of the year, those preceding the harvest. The Chilean government, partly because of a lack of funds and partly because of a lack of interest (or because of different interests), has proved unable to ameliorate this condition. The extension of credit by the government, through the Caja de Crédito, for example, is nominal and wholly inadequate to the needs of Mapuche farmers.

Labor Organization

The organization of labor has undergone significant change in the last few decades. Historical sources indicate that chiefs